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FORGING IN THE SMITHY

Principles for creating substitute words:

A critical examination of Ordsmia

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List of abbreviations

ICT: Information and Communication Technology

IRC: Internet Relay Chat

NLC: The Norwegian Language Council

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 The English language

The English language has a fascinating history which has recently been summed up in the following way:

The history of English as a separate language started about CE 500, when its ancestor was a collection of dialects spoken by marauding Germanic tribes who settled in the part of the British Isle nearest the European continent. In those distant days, this proto-English was spoken by less than half a million illiterate people. Compared with the prestigious Latin language which had dominated the western Roman Empire up to that time, it was a totally insignificant tongue. In the 1,500 years since then, the English language has come heavily under the influence of other languages, especially Old Norse, French, Latin and Greek. Eight hundred years ago it was a humble medley of native dialects in a country where the rulers spoke French. Yet it somehow survived as a basically Germanic language, and has now come to be known to something like 1 ½ billion people. (Svartvik & Leech 2006: 7)

These 1 ½ billion people are spread all over the world. It is difficult to describe how English is used around the world, but Braj Kachru's model of the three concentric circles is helpful. In the inner circle, we find countries in which English is the primary language. In the outer circle, we find 'non-native settings, where the language has become part of a country's chief institutions, and plays an important "second language" role in a multilingual setting.' Finally, there is the expanding circle which 'involves those nations which recognize the importance of English as an international language' and where 'English is taught as a foreign language' (Crystal 2003: 60).

English in Norway belongs to the expanding circle, but its position in Norwegian society is growing stronger and stronger. Most Norwegians can understand and speak English today, and in some domains, e.g. the domains of research and business, English is now increasingly used instead of Norwegian. It therefore seems as if Norway is moving towards the outer circle (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 37).

‘An important aspect of the increasing dominance of English in the “expanding circle” is its effect on other languages’ (Aijmer & Melchers 2004: 1). Today, English words find their way into the Norwegian language as never before. It is practically impossible to read a newspaper without discovering an English loanword. English has the same strong influence on the other Nordic languages as well. The English influence is, in fact, so strong that some believe that ‘language death in Scandinavia should by no means be ruled out’ (Gottlieb 2004: 61). This huge influence is the reason why the Nordic Language Council in 1998 initiated a research project, ‘Moderne Importord’, on the treatment of foreign words in the Nordic languages (Graedler 2004: 5ff, <http://moderne-importord.info/>). The primary aims of the project are

to make a comparative survey of the treatment of modern loanwords in the languages in the Nordic countries (regarding usage and norms), and to gain general insight into the basis of language attitudes and specific insight into the attitudes toward loanwords in the Nordic countries (the “linguistic climate”). A subsidiary aim is to provide a background for the discussion and decision-making regarding aims and means in language planning and maintenance in the Nordic Language Council, and in the individual councils of the Nordic countries. (Graedler 2004: 6f)

In 1990, the project ‘English in Norwegian language and society’ was initiated by Stig Johansson. The purpose of this project was to look at what happens to the two languages in contact: Which English elements are taken up in Norwegian? How do they change in form, meaning and use? What happens to the receiving language, Norwegian? How can we explain the development? (Johansson 2003: 124). The results of this project were presented in 2002 in the book *Rocka, hipt og snacksy. Om engelsk i norsk språk og samfunn*, written by Stig Johansson and Anne-Line Graedler.

1.2 Substitute words

The reactions to the influence English has on Norwegian are many and varied. Some see English as a blessing as it simplifies international communication, and some even feel it

would be better if English was the native tongue of all people in the world. Others fear that English will eventually kill the Norwegian language and thereby a very important part of our culture. For this reason there have been several campaigns in Norway ‘against unwanted English influence and for the protection of the linguistic environment’ (Johansson 2002: 90). One way of preserving the Norwegian language is to create substitute words.

A substitute word can be defined as a Norwegian word which replaces a direct loan (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 219). There have been a few projects where substitute words have been studied more closely. ‘The investigation of the language users’ acceptance of substitute forms’ where ‘relevant words will subsequently be tested with the aid of supplementary material’ is an important part of the project ‘Moderne Importord’ (Graedler 2004: 13f). The first volume in a series of books which report the results from the project came in 2003. This book, *Med ‘bil’ i Norden i 100 år. Ordlaging og tilpassing av utalandske ord*, edited by Helge Sandøy, deals with the adaptation of loanwords and substitute words in the Nordic languages. A shorter list of substitute words can be found at the project’s website. A full report of the work on substitute words will be published in 2007.¹

In his book *Lånte fjører eller bunad? Om importord i norsk*, Helge Sandøy (2000) discusses loanwords in Norwegian, and he has also included a chapter on substitute words which includes recommendations on how to create good substitute forms.² The topic of Anne Helene Aarflot’s master’s thesis from 2002 was features of English loanwords in the field of ICT and Norwegian substitute words used in texts in general in the past 15 years. Aarflot studied substitute words in light of Sandøy’s recommendations, and found that the two most important criteria for a substitute word’s success were that the substitute word was similar to

¹ Personal communication with Anne-Line Graedler 11 April 2007.

² See pp. 243-259 in Helge Sandøy. 2000. *Lånte fjører eller bunad? Om importord i norsk*. Oslo: Cappelen akademisk forlag.

the loanword in form and meaning, and that the substitute word was transparent (Aarflot 2003: 151).

In their book *Rocka, hipt og snacksy. Om engelsk i norsk språk og samfunn*, Johansson and Graedler studied the competition between loanwords and substitute words and set up six principles for creating successful substitute words (2002: 219). The principles are as follows:

- 1) *Form*. The word should be easy to pronounce, spell and inflect, compounds must be made according to existing Norwegian patterns, and the word should not be too long.
- 2) *Meaning*. The word cannot be a definition, but should imply how it is to be interpreted. The word does not have to be an imitation of the English loan.
- 3) *Identity*. The word should not be confused with other already existing words.
- 4) *Network*. The word must fit into the network within its domain.
- 5) *Flexibility*. The word should be applicable in the different contexts in which the loanword might occur.
- 6) *Connotation*. The word should not evoke negative connotations on the part of the users. If it does its success is highly unlikely.

In her master's thesis from 2005, Silje Mittet studied the competition between loanwords and substitute words in the domains of technology and economics in light of these six principles.

In her concluding remarks, she states that a successful substitute word often is in agreement with more than one of these principles (Mittet 2005: 106).

1.3 Ordsmia

Ordsmia (the Wordsmithy) is an e-mail discussion forum functioning as a workshop where members can propose and discuss substitute words. The forum was established by the Norwegian Language Council (NLC) in March 2000, as finding good Norwegian substitute

words for English direct loanwords has been one of the NLC's priorities in the past few years (<http://www.sprakrad.no/Spraakstyrking/Ordsmia/>). Anyone interested in language may become a member. Journalists, politicians, language experts, sports enthusiasts, students, translators, business people, lawyers, people working within the field of computing, people from Gyldendal Forlag, Trygdeetaten and Norsk filminstitutt are some of those who believe it is important to preserve the Norwegian language by replacing loanwords with Norwegian substitute words. So far, almost 6100 messages have been sent to Ordsミア. More information about Ordsミア including instructions on how to get access to previous discussions and messages, a list of the NLC's recommended substitute words called 'På godt norsk', as well as articles on how to create good substitute words can be found at the NLC's website at <http://www.sprakrad.no/>.

There can be no doubt that setting up Ordsミア was a good and important initiative. There is a reason why a whole section in the book *Med 'bil' i Norden i 100 år* is devoted only to the work done in Ordsミア. Many of the words on the list of the NLC's recommended substitute words are results of the discussion in Ordsミア. The advantage of letting anyone and everyone participate is that people with many different backgrounds can contribute. The members have different background knowledge which contributes to a comprehensive and enlightening discussion of the issues taken up. However, Ordsミア has also met with some criticism. Jan Hoel has stressed the difference between technical terms and substitute words and pointed out that technical terms are in fact discussed more than substitute words (2003). Dag Finn Simonsen notes that the coverage of the different types of words is uneven (2003: 149). Words in the field of ICT are the ones most discussed, and a majority of Ordsミア's members have ICT backgrounds. Further, the membership of Ordsミア varies, and usually only a few of the members participate actively in the discussion. Stig Johansson's criticism concerns the principles used when proposing substitute words (2003). The downside to

democracy is that everyone who participates does not necessarily have the knowledge needed for creating good substitute words.

All of the substitute words Mittet studied in her thesis were taken from the NLC's list of recommended substitute forms. As mentioned, many of the words on the list come from Ordsamia. Since she found that many of the words on the list violate the principles for good substitute words and cannot compete with the English words, and since she arrived at the conclusion that Ordsamia does not seem to function as well as it should (Mittet 2005: 108), it could be interesting to take a closer look at Ordsamia to try to understand why.

1.4 Aim and research questions

The aim of this thesis is to answer the following questions: Do the suggestions and arguments for and/or against substitute words presented in Ordsamia agree with the principles researchers have found to be important for a substitute word's success? Further, what could be the reason why the words suggested in Ordsamia often cannot compete with the English words? I will also give an account of which types of words are brought up in Ordsamia.

I have chosen to study the discussion of substitute words in Ordsamia in light of the principles for good substitute words set up by Johansson and Graedler. In addition to these six principles, I have paid attention to the awareness, or lack thereof, of words and language *in use*, a matter which most linguists, for instance those employed in the NLC and Stig Johansson (2003), stress as important. A general conclusion from Mittet's study is also that 'both the loanword and a suggested substitute form should be studied before any recommendations are made' (2005: 107). Questions wordsmiths must ask themselves in connection with use are: How is the English loanword used in Norwegian? Are there noun, verb, and adjective forms? Is it used in compounds? Are there already existing substitute

words in use? Do the suggested substitute forms have a realistic chance of being used by people outside Ordsma?

1.5 Plan of the study

In order to answer the questions asked above, I have studied all the nearly 6100 messages sent to Ordsma. In the next chapter I will discuss what a substitute word is, based on the discussion in Ordsma. I will also examine which types of words are taken up. Which language do the words discussed come from? Which word classes do the words belong to? Which domains do the words come from?

What becomes clear when we study the discussion in Ordsma is that there are many aspects of the six principles for creating good substitute forms. In chapter 3, I will take a closer look at the aspects of meaning, both denotative meaning (the principle of meaning) and connotative meaning (the principle of connotation). The principle of meaning is without doubt the principle taken most into consideration when wordsmiths in Ordsma discuss substitute words. This principle is therefore the one which is given most attention in this thesis. Chapter 4 takes up the remaining four principles: the principles of form, identity, network, and flexibility. Chapter 5 is wholly devoted to the issue of words in use and to what extent researchers and wordsmiths believe use should be taken into consideration in the discussion of substitute words. Chapter 6 gives an account of various sources where wordsmiths can find information and inspiration. Finally, chapter 7 summarizes the conclusions from the study.

Chapter 2: Words brought up in Ordsmia

2.1 What is a substitute word?

As seen in the introduction, a substitute word can be defined as a Norwegian word which replaces a direct loan (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 219). What substitute words have in common with so many other linguistic elements, however, is that it may not be as easy as it seems to determine whether a word is a substitute word or not. This becomes clear when we study the various discussions in Ordsmia. While it is clear that Ordsmia is a forum for the discussion of substitute words, and most members agree that finding substitute words is important, there is not always agreement on what one can bring up for discussion.

Direct loans can be defined as ‘words and expressions that are the result of direct importation from another language’ (Graedler 1998: 48). In other words, a direct loan is a word or expression from another language that is being used in for instance Norwegian. Many of the foreign words brought up in Ordsmia, however, are not in use in Norwegian, and therefore they can not in a strict sense be called loanwords. Thus, the creation of a Norwegian word to replace a foreign word which is not in use in Norwegian can not be called a substitute word (Hoel 2003: 139f).

The distinction between finding Norwegian words for foreign words used in Norwegian, i.e. loanwords, and finding Norwegian words for foreign words which are unused or not frequently used in Norwegian is not a distinction all members in Ordsmia seem to be aware of. In Ordsmia we find examples of discussions of both. There are for instance examples of messages sent by members who need help with a specific translation problem. Examples of discussions of loanwords are *website*, *offshore*, *cheeseburger*, *babyboom*, and *spin-off*. Examples of discussions of foreign words that are unused or not frequently used in Norwegian are *serendipity*, *employability*, *dedicated*, *functional food*, and *non-governmental*

organization. However, when foreign words are brought up in Ordsamia it is usually because there is a need for a Norwegian equivalent in some connection.³ Further, it is difficult to say exactly when a word becomes a loanword as the frequency of use will vary from person to person and from field to field. This is especially true of technical terms as these are usually only in limited use within certain fields and therefore not widely known. Since the distinction is a difficult one, and since it has not been drawn in Ordsamia, this study includes the discussion of all foreign words brought up in Ordsamia when the purpose is to find Norwegian equivalents for these. The principles important for a new word's success are basically the same in both cases. In the study of the influence English has on Norwegian, it is highly interesting to observe the attempts to find Norwegian words for foreign words, usually English words, which are not yet frequently used in Norwegian as this shows how English influences Norwegian not only through direct loans, but indirectly as well.

There is another aspect of the discussion of what a substitute word is, namely the difference between technical terms and substitute words. In his article 'Refleksjoner omkring forholdet mellom avløserord og tekniske termer, med bakgrunn i arbeidet med IKT-ord i Ordsamia', Jan Hoel claims that what is discussed in Ordsamia is mostly technical terms and not substitute words (2003: 143). He argues that technical terms are the result of conscious and systematic work where the goal is to describe the terms within the specific fields. Substitute words, on the other hand, are not created in such a systematic way and are more coloured by the linguistic economy, the striking effect and the semantic vagueness of everyday language (Hoel 2003: 138). He concludes that there is a need for more everyday language users in Ordsamia as the forum now tends to function as an arena for brainstorming around Norwegian terms for new products, services and phenomena within the wordsmiths' expert fields.

³ The questions whether Norwegian equivalents already exist and how much one should take these into consideration are important questions which will be taken up later in this study.

It is important to be aware of the difference between technical terms and everyday words because the principles for creating good technical terms and the principles for creating good everyday words may differ, in particular in connection with the principle of meaning. This becomes especially clear in the study of the discussions in Ordsmia where a majority of the words brought up can be classified as technical terms. It is important to keep in mind that the majority of the words discussed in Ordsmia are technical terms if one is to understand the argumentation one often finds in Ordsmia. However, it is not always easy to draw a clear borderline between technical terms and everyday words. Further, it is possible to argue that terms and everyday words are two types of substitute words (Hoel 2003: 138). This is what most members of Ordsmia do. It is also what I have chosen to do in this study, but the difference between the two types will be pointed out when relevant. In the appendix, which includes a list of all the foreign words discussed in Ordsmia, the distinction is not present as it would have been too difficult to classify all words as either technical terms or everyday words.

2.2 Types of words brought up in Ordsmia

The purpose of Ordsmia is, as mentioned, to enrich the Norwegian language by finding Norwegian substitute words for foreign loanwords. As the NLC's counsellors have pointed out in their messages to Ordsmia, an e-mail sent to Ordsmia should contain either a suggestion for a substitute word, comments on other suggestions, or general viewpoints which may be of relevance and interest for the work done in Ordsmia. Most messages sent to Ordsmia contain one of these three. When they do not, the NLC's counsellors usually send out reminders of the purpose of Ordsmia. There have been discussions in which participants want to find synonyms for already existing Norwegian words. Grammatical issues, Norwegian slang, and questions of spelling and abbreviations have also been brought up

occasionally. As these discussions do not deal with substitute words, they have been largely ignored in this study. The question about synonyms, however, will be taken up in chapter 5 which deals with substitute words and use.

The majority of the foreign words discussed in Ordsmia are, not surprisingly, English words.⁴ Of the more than 700 words brought up in Ordsmia, only 17 are from other languages than English, i.e. German, Latin, Greek, French, Italian, Danish, and Arabic. This reflects the trend that English is the most important source of loanwords in modern Norwegian (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 83). Many wordsmiths therefore talk about Ordsmia as a forum where one discusses substitute words for English loanwords.

Most of the words taken up in Ordsmia are nouns or noun phrases. This is natural as nouns are the most common word class and the majority of all loanwords are nouns (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 176). In all the Nordic languages, 'nouns represent the most commonly borrowed word class, with between 82 % (Danish) and 95 % (Finnish) of the words' (Graedler 2004: 10).

The fields of pop music, fashion and beauty, sports, film and TV, advertising, economics and business, and ICT are all fields where the English influence is dominant (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 85ff). The domains of business and research are fields where it even seems as if English could replace Norwegian. One could thus expect that words from all of these fields would be taken up frequently in Ordsmia. The situation, however, is quite different. More than one third of all the foreign words discussed are from the field of ICT and the longer discussions which get the most response are usually about words from the field of ICT. Ordsmia's wordsmiths have brought up approximately 30 words from the field of sports, about 30 words from the field of business, 15 words from the field of food, and approximately 10 words from the field of clothes, fashion and beauty. The rest of the words (about 50 % of

⁴ For a list of all words brought up in Ordsmia, see the appendix.

the words taken up) are more difficult to categorise as they are from a large number of different fields, and there are fewer than 10 words from each field. Only a few words from the fields of pop-music, film and TV, advertising, and research have been taken up in Ordsmia. As Dag Finn Simonsen has pointed out, the coverage of the different types of words is uneven (2003: 149), and as we shall see later, this has consequences for the wordsmiths' arguments for and/or against substitute words.

We must be careful in drawing conclusions about English influence in particular domains based on the words brought up in Ordsmia. As mentioned in the introduction, Ordsmia's members have different backgrounds and interests, the number of members varies, and not all members are active participants. Many of Ordsmia's active participants have ICT backgrounds. This explains the dominance of words from the field of ICT. This dominance also reflects the trend that a lot is being done to create substitute words in the field of ICT, as opposed to for instance the field of sports (Sandøy 2000a: 247). However, the observation is an interesting one, and one wonders if this could be an indication that it may be more difficult to create successful substitute words in some fields than others.

Chapter 3: The principles of meaning and connotation

3.1 The principle of meaning

The principle of meaning is without doubt the principle the wordsmiths in Ordsmia have paid most attention to. In fact, there are many examples of discussions where more time has been devoted to discussing the cognitive meaning of a foreign word than to finding its substitute word. There are several aspects of the principle of meaning which one should keep in mind when discussing substitute words. Many of these have been brought up in Ordsmia.

The most common reason or motive for borrowing English words is the need ‘to fill semantic gaps’ (Graedler 1998: 215). When the loanword *zoome* was discussed, *angi størrelse* and *gjøre større/mindre* were suggested as substitute words. As other wordsmiths pointed out, the problem with this suggestion is that *zooming* does not only have to do with size. *Angi størrelse* does not fill the semantic gap *zoome* does, and we would therefore still need the English word. Suggesting that *lynmelding* could replace *instant message*, on the other hand, is a good suggestion as this word fills the same gap as does *instant message*. It is therefore important to be aware of and clarify which semantic gap the English word fills in Norwegian before one begins suggesting substitute words. In Ordsmia, there are many very good and clarifying discussions on what a word really means, and where context and use often are taken into consideration as well. However, clarification of meaning is not the only criterion for a good substitute word.

It is a common misunderstanding that Norwegian words must be as precise as possible (Sandøy 2000a: 250). The words do not need to be definitions, they only need to imply how they are to be interpreted (Sandøy 2000a: 250, Johansson & Graedler 2002: 219). Too many wordsmiths seem to believe that a substitute form must be a Norwegian definition of the

loanword. The argument against many suggested substitute words is frequently that the word is not specific or precise enough. This applies especially to the discussion of technical terms.

Jan Hoel and Dag Finn Simonsen, counsellors from the NLC, have pointed out in their replies to Ordsamia that there is a difference between the English and Norwegian language traditions when it comes to technical terms. In English, technical terms are often made up of metaphors. In Norwegian, we have longer and often transparent technical terms which describe functions of the referents. Further, technical terminology in Norwegian is a working tool which needs to be precise, unambiguous and standardised (Sandøy 2000a: 246, Johansson & Graedler 2002: 145). Many wordsmiths are aware of this. The problem, however, is that the linguistic aspect seems to drown in the discussion of what the term really means. The consequence is that other principles for good substitute words are often violated. Replacing for instance *switch* with *nettverksveksler* and *gateway* with *overgangstjener* may be good suggestions in the sense that the terms are specific, but they violate the principle of form as they are quite long, especially compared to the words they replace. Thus the words have smaller chances of being used by people outside Ordsamia. As already mentioned, it is not always easy to clearly distinguish between technical terminology and everyday language. This is also true of the field of ICT because so many people use ICT and have some knowledge about it. This makes it even more important to create words that will appeal to as many as possible.

There are several examples of discussions where the focus on precision and definition does not lead to the creation of a substitute word. Rather, it sometimes seems to hinder the creation of a substitute word as it becomes nearly impossible to find one word that covers all the semantic aspects of a word. When discussing *voice response*, everyone agreed that the word refers to the situation where a telephone caller can select options from a voice menu. What they could not agree on was whether the response referred to the caller's response or the

voice menu's response, and no substitute word was agreed upon. When discussing *managed code*, most of the discussion was about clarification of meaning, but clarification of meaning does not automatically lead to good substitute words, thus no substitute word was agreed upon.

There are also examples of discussions where the participants never come to an agreement about what a loanword actually means, which naturally makes it difficult to find a good substitute word. The discussion of *wearable computer* suffered from disagreement about how much this term actually covers. When *slow food* was discussed, there was disagreement for instance about whether the focus should be on the amount of time it takes to prepare the food or the amount of time it takes to eat the food, and whether it had to do with culinary delights or not. In such cases it could be a good idea to look for examples in for instance newspapers to see how a word is used in Norwegian, and thus get an idea about how much the loanword covers and subsequently agree on what the substitute word should cover. It would also have been an advantage if the wordsmiths were aware of the fact that everyday words are not in such a need of precision as technical terms are.

A language is also in need of imprecise words (Sandøy 2000a: 246). This is especially true of everyday language. As seen in the example of *slow food* above, the tendency to make definitions of technical terms has unfortunately rubbed off on everyday words discussed in Ordsamia as well, probably because a majority of the words taken up are technical terms and therefore dominate the forum. This results in violation of the other principles for good substitute words, and reduces creativity and the words' chances of being used by people outside Ordsamia. It is no wonder one wordsmith made the following comment: 'What I benefit most from by being a member of Ordsamia is the clarification of what a word means.' During a discussion of *road kill*, there was, as usual, so much focus on finding the word's precise meaning, how important it is to distinguish between the situation where an animal is

killed on the road and where a person is killed on the road, and how the meaning could be best reflected in the substitute word that one member jokingly suggested *uaktsomt-kjøretøydrap-på-dyr* as the substitute word. This is a very good illustration of the fact that precision may not be the most important key to a substitute word's success. Precision comes with experience, which is why we for instance in Norwegian today can use the short word *bil* for the longer word *automobil* (Sandøy 2000a: 251). Precision is not the only aspect important to the principle of meaning.

Often only one aspect or meaning of a foreign word is borrowed. The word is thus used in a more narrow sense in the borrowing language than in the original language (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 138f). When one member asked for suggestions for a substitute word for *kidult*, replies were made about the noun *kidult*. The problem, however, was that *kidult* is not used as a noun in Norwegian, but as an adjective. It is therefore very important not only to look at how a word is used in the original language, but how it is used in the borrowing language as well. When discussing *on-hook dialling*, it turned out that the wordsmiths were discussing different functions of this phenomenon. As a result, the participants came up with many different suggestions for substitute words. It is therefore important to state which aspect of the word one wants to find a substitute word for. When *skimmer* was discussed, the same problem arose. *Snikavleser* is a fitting word for the criminal use, but not for the legal use. Therefore, the wordsmiths ended up agreeing on having two substitute words for *skimmer*. *Snikavleser* can be used when there is crime involved, and *kortavleser* can be used when the skimming is legal.

It must not be forgotten that a substitute word does not have to be an imitation of the foreign loan, but rather imply the word's meaning. One wordsmith argued against *idédugnad* and *idémyldring* as substitute words for *brainstorming* because we lose the storm-aspect. If we put these substitute words to the test, however, and find examples where *brainstorming* is

used and replace *brainstorming* with *idédugnad* or *idémyldring*, we find that we do not lose any crucial meanings or aspects of the original word. The foreign words may be the original words, but they are not necessarily the best words.

Direct translations can make good substitute words. *Ansiktsløfting*, *arbeidsflyt*, *snøbrett* and *hjemmeside* are examples of now established words in Norwegian which were created through direct translation from the English loanwords *facelift*, *workflow*, *snowboard* and *homepage*. However, direct translations will not always make good substitute words. Sometimes a direct translation will simply sound weird in Norwegian or not appeal to people, as is likely with the suggestion *deigmutter* for *doughnut*. Besides, it is questionable whether *doughnut* is a transparent compound for most English speakers. Other times, direct translations do not make good words simply because the English terms are not good. One example of this which was discussed in Ordsamia was the term *random access*. People with knowledge from the field of computing claimed that the English term is in fact directly misleading as the access is not random. As a consequence, the direct translation *tilfeldig tilgang* will not do either. The same is true of *remote printer*. When somebody suggested the direct translation *fjernprinter*, other wordsmiths pointed out that we should not use the English word as a model in this case because the English word does not reflect the right meaning. Some wordsmiths in Ordsamia have proved that it is possible to free oneself from the English original and come up with new creative suggestions. Two examples are *e-pest* for *spam* and *trollbinder* for *pageturner*.

Another aspect of direct translations is demonstrated in the discussion of words like *infotainment*, *edutainment*, *infomercial*, *coopetition*, *kidult* etc. These types of compounds, so called portmanteau words, are typical of the American language today. It is a challenge for Norwegians to find good substitute words for these words. Firstly, we do not have the same tradition in Norwegian to put words together in this way. Secondly, it is especially important

to be creative and not just imitate the English original as direct translations rarely work well with these words. *Infoholdning* is not a good substitute word for *infotainment* because *holdning*, in addition to being the second part of the word *underholdning*, is an independent word in Norwegian as opposed to *tainment* in English. *Infoholdning* will probably give connotations of attitudes towards information rather than of *infotainment*. *Infornøyelse* however, is an example of a good creative substitute word for *infotainment*. However, we do not necessarily need to combine words in the same way to create good substitute words. *Faktahygge* for *infotainment* and *konkurrentsamarbeid* for *coopetition* may also be good alternatives.

Some wordsmiths in Ordsamia have occasionally suggested reviving old words which are no longer in use in Norwegian or creating substitute words from words from less known dialects. It is unlikely that such words will be revived because they do not suggest the word's meaning to those who do not already know the dialect or the old words (Sandøy 2000a: 257). *Karravolinj* or *karvolin* is not known to other people than those from Sunnmøre, and hence it would probably not be able to replace *wannabe*. That *vende* means *to sell* in some dialects does not mean it is likely that a word like *vendemaskin* could replace *vending machine*. The same is true of *reidar*, which earlier meant, and in some dialects still means, *editor*. *Tekstreidar* will not be a good Norwegian substitute word for *text editor*.

3.2 The principle of connotation

Most of the substitute words suggested in Ordsamia are fairly neutral in style. One reason for this is probably the focus on the words' denotations discussed above. Further, there seems to be a tendency in the Norwegian language for words to be as neutral as possible. That is why a word like *kjøkkenprosessor* has become the substitute word for *food processor* instead of the more playful *matmølle* (Sandøy 2000a: 257). The downside of this tradition is that it leaves

less room for wordplay and playful connotations. Norwegian is thus a less metaphorical language than for instance American English. There are examples of discussions in which wordsmiths argue that a word is good because it sounds energetic, which may be true, but since the Norwegian language culture is the way it is today, it is probably wise to take this into consideration when creating substitute words if we want the words to succeed (Sandøy 2000a: 257). Most wordsmiths in Ordsamia do. However, this does not mean that associative meaning is unimportant.

How much the principle of connotation is taken into consideration in the discussion of substitute words often depends on the type of word brought up. In the discussion of words from the field of food, wordsmiths tend to agree that connotations are very important. When discussing the word *smoothies*, the principle of connotation was the principle wordsmiths paid most attention to. When someone suggested *fruktsløsh* as a substitute word, an argument against this word was that *fruktsløsh* does not sound appetizing. The same was said about the suggestion *sørpe*. Words like *fruktlesk* and *drikkesorbet*, however, sounded more delicate to the wordsmiths. Words from the field of food should sound appetizing. When words from the field of ICT are brought up, connotations are rather seldom mentioned. The neutral, transparent meaning is what is emphasised.

Legalese is an example of a word where connotations are very important because of the ironic effect the word is supposed to have. For this reason the wordsmiths in Ordsamia usually used the principle of connotation to support their arguments for or against various suggestions. They also discussed what kind of connotation the Norwegian word should evoke. Should it be neutral? Should it be positive? Should it be pejorative, ironic or negative? Most wordsmiths agreed that the word should be slightly pejorative and ironic. There were several suggestions. *Juristisk* was liked by many as it sounds somewhat pejorative and ironic. The same is true of *jussisk*, many argued. *Juridisk røverspråk* sounds too negative and not serious

enough. *Juridisk språk* is too neutral and we lose the ironic aspect. The same is true of *lovspråk* and *kansellistil*. The conclusion was thus that *juristisk* and *jussisk* were the best suggestions in terms of connotations, which in this case are significant for the word's success. When discussing which of the two was the best word, the participants continued to use the principle of connotations to back up their views. Some argued that *jussisk* will sound like a speech defect. Others pointed out that *jussisk* makes fun of the discipline jurisprudence, while *juristisk* makes fun of the person overusing this kind of language, which is what it should do. *Spin doctor*, *bundling*, and *namedropping* are other examples of words where the principle of connotation is highly relevant and has been taken into consideration in Ordsamia's discussions.

In other cases, connotations are discussed with varying relevance. Suggesting that *idédugnad* will not do as a substitute word for *brainstorming* because it gives connotations of duty is an unlikely reason for the word not to succeed. When discussing the word *armchair athlete*, some pointed out that a construction beginning with *sofa-* evokes sexual connotations. Since we already have constructions in Norwegian beginning with *sofa-*, e.g. *sofagris*, *sofasliter*, *sofavelger*, and these words do not evoke sexual connotations, it is not likely that a new word constructed in the same way will either. Pointing out that replacing *whistleblower* with *sladrer* would be wrong as *sladrer* evokes far too negative connotations, however, seems an important argument. *Whistleblower* is defined as something positive: 'Someone who reports dishonest or illegal activities within an organization to someone in authority' (Macmillan English Dictionary 2002), and the Norwegian word should thus evoke positive, or at least neutral, connotations if it is to succeed. It should not evoke the wrong positive connotations, however, as was pointed out when *plystrer* was suggested. *Plystrer* evokes connotations of being in a good mood or seeing pretty women according to one wordsmith. *Varsler* is a more neutral – and less playful – word, and this is also the word that has come into use today in newspapers, in laws, and in many people's vocabulary.

It is not always obvious what connotations a word may evoke. There are several examples of discussions where members disagree on this. They usually agree when a word has too positive or too negative connotations. It is more difficult to agree whether a suggested substitute word for *peptalk*, *flammetale*, makes people think about preachers warning against eternal damnation in hell or about an encouraging talk, and whether the suggestion *lodden logikk* (*fuzzy logic*) sounds cosy or not. The only thing one can say for certain in such discussions is that it is with connotations as it is with cognitive meaning: They come with our experience.

Chapter 4: The principles of form, identity, network and flexibility

4.1 The principle of form

The Norwegian language offers good opportunities for creating substitute words, especially through compounds (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 218). ‘Norwegian, like English, forms compounds easily. In Norwegian, it is theoretically possible to compound an unlimited number of words, and the restrictions on compounding seem to be very few’ (Graedler 1998: 199). Direct translations and compounding are by far the most common ways of creating new words in Ordsmia. Sometimes English compounds can be translated into Norwegian compounds. It is also common to replace an English single word with Norwegian compounds. In Ordsmia, there are many examples of both. *Spam – søppelpost*, *smoothies – fruktshake*, *lipgloss – leppeglans*, *carport – bilbås* are only a few. The downside of compounds, however, is that they can be quite long. Since it is ‘theoretically possible to compound an unlimited number of words’, suggested substitute words rather often consist of three words. The length of the substitute words is frequently discussed in Ordsmia. It is particularly brought up when a word consists of four or more syllables. The suggestions *nettsidedesign* for *web design*, *luftsprøytepen* for *airbrush*, *tjenestenektangrep* for *denial of service*, *vevadministrator* for *webmaster*, *strekkodeleser* for *håndscanner*, *forhåndsinnstilling* for *default* and *innpluggingsmodul* for *plug-in* were quickly dismissed by many of the wordsmiths. The reason, according to one wordsmith, is that there is no point in creating a Norwegian word that has no advantages over the English word, because such Norwegian words will never be used by people outside Ordsmia.

It is difficult to say just how long a word can be. In Ordsmia the length of the suggested Norwegian word is very often compared to the length of the original foreign word. If the English word is longer, it is more often acceptable that the Norwegian word is long. If

the English word is shorter, many seem to think that the Norwegian word should be short as well. This is probably why it was argued that *søppelpost* is too long for *spam*, while nobody made objections to *minnepinne* as the substitute word for *memory stick*.

Compounds are more common in Norwegian than in English. As mentioned in connection with the principle of meaning, transparent and descriptive technical terms are also common in Norwegian. It is therefore natural that Norwegian words often are longer than English words. If words are to be transparent and descriptive, it is practically impossible to create only short words. It is therefore difficult to unite the demand for transparent descriptive words with the demand for shorter words. When one wordsmith argues that a suggestion is good because it is short, another will sooner or later point out that the word is not precise enough. There is thus a conflict between the principle of meaning and the principle of form. It is difficult to say which principle is the most important for the word to succeed. In Ordsamia, the principle of meaning seems to be more important than the principle of form. However, when there are several suggestions for one substitute word which do not violate the principle of meaning, the shortest word tends to be the most popular one. When for instance *instant message* was discussed, *lynmelding* was favoured by most participants at the expense of Microsoft's suggestion, *øyeblikkelig melding*. *Versjonsnotat* was more popular than *versjonsmerknader*.

Many wordsmiths seem to find that the length of a word also depends on the context in which it is used. *Punktum* consists of only two syllables, but several wordsmiths have argued the word is too long because it is used in a web address. Compared to *dot*, *punktum* is horrible, they say. Many have therefore argued that *punkt* is better. Other wordsmiths claim that *punkt* is not as easy to pronounce as *dot* is. Many therefore regard *dott* as the best option. We find the same line of argumentation in the discussion of *krøllalfa*. Ordsamia's members claim that *krøllalfa* is much too long to be pronounced when reading e-mail addresses aloud.

For this reason, *krøllalfa* has been discussed more often than any other word brought up in Ordsmia.⁵

Compounds must conform to existing Norwegian patterns. The last part of a compound should be precise (Sandøy 2000a: 251). *Site* is the last part of *website* because *website* refers to a site, and not a web. How to create compounds is rarely discussed in Ordsmia, probably because it is unnecessary as this rule is rarely violated. However, the creation of compounds was discussed in connection with a compound consisting of a verb and a particle. When discussing *pop-up window*, some argued that *sprettoppvindu* was easier to say than *oppsprettvindu*. Others argued that Norwegian compounds consisting of a verb and a particle should begin with the particle, and thus *oppsprettvindu* is more correct.

Awareness of inflection, spelling and pronunciation has been demonstrated in Ordsmia. An argument for keeping *blogg* in Norwegian was that it can be inflected according to Norwegian patterns: *Blogg, bloggen, blogger, bloggene*. *Vlogg*, which is short for *vevlogg*, was another suggestion for *blog*. *Vlogg*, however, is not in agreement with Norwegian phonotactic rules, as it is not common to begin a Norwegian word with the sequence *vl*. Most of the suggested substitute words, however, are in agreement with Norwegian rules of pronunciation, spelling and inflection. The reason for this is probably that most of the suggested substitute words are compounds made up of already existing Norwegian words.

A loanword is formally integrated when it has been adapted in such a way that it is pronounced, spelled and inflected according to the rules of the borrowing language (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 134). Some loanwords are more easily formally integrated into Norwegian than others. A word like *subliminal* can easily be both spelled and pronounced according to Norwegian patterns. Many wordsmiths want to keep the English words the way they are if they fit into Norwegian language patterns. *Doughnut*, however, does not agree with

⁵ I will return to the issue of *krøllalfa* in chapter 5.

Norwegian rules of pronunciation or spelling, and many claim this is a reason for finding a new good substitute word.

It is often possible to change the spelling and pronunciation of a word to make it fit into Norwegian language patterns. *Sæmple* for *sample*, *beigel* for *bagel*, *høb* for *hub*, *møst* for *must*, *svitsj* for *switch*, *skup* for *scoop*, *sørfe* for *surfe*, and *spinndoktor* for *spin doctor* are some examples of words which, with some adaptation, agree with Norwegian rules.

Arguments against such formal integration are that these words look and sound weird when spelled and pronounced in a Norwegian way, and that these words are not really Norwegian substitute words, but foreign words in disguise. However, such adaptation is found with many loanwords which we no longer think of as awkward or foreign today, as for instance *flørt* for *flirt*, *haike* for *hike*, and *åltreit* for *all right*.

4.2 The principle of identity

The principle of identity is not taken up very often, but this is probably because most of the suggested substitute words do not seem apt to be confused with already existing words. The focus on precision contributes to preventing violation of the principle of identity. However, it has been brought up a few times. In the discussion of *spin-off*, *avspinn* was suggested as a substitute word. Some argued that *avspinn* could be confused with similar words like *oppspinn*. Others thought this argument irrelevant as there are numerous examples of such similarities between words in Norwegian today, e.g. *oppsats* and *innsats*, *avkjørsel* and *påkjørsel* etc. When *spam* was discussed, the only objection some participants had to the funny and original word *e-pest* was that it is easily confused with *e-post*. However, it is difficult to know how similar two words can be for them to come into use without being confused with each other.

When *computer* was discussed, the principle of identity was one of the dominating issues. It was pointed out that since the word *datamaskin* is too long, many people now use the short form *data*, which originally means ‘information’. Referring to actual use is a strong argument in favour of a word. If *data* is used about the machine in everyday language and users usually have no problems distinguishing between the information and the machine, even though they use the same word for both, the chances of confusion are small because the context will tell us which type of *data* is relevant. Many participants argued strongly against *data* as a substitute word for *computer* because they insisted that we should not confuse the information, *data*, with the machine, *datamaskin*. This distinction would be much clearer if two different words are used about the two different phenomena. Conceding that *data* may be frequently used in speech, nobody had yet seen it in formal written language. Further, they pointed out that *datamaskin* is no longer than are *vaskemaskin*, *oppvaskmaskin*, *kopimaskin* or *skrivemaskin*.

4.3 The principle of network

The principle of network is a principle wordsmiths in Ordsamia should be more aware of. The wordsmiths are quite good at taking it into consideration when it comes to the relationship to other words. The principle of network has been used in support of several suggested substitute words, for instance when words that have to do with *Internett* or *verdensveven* have been discussed. Such words should be constructed with *nett* or *vev*: *Website* should be either *nettside* or *vevside*, *webmaster* should be either *nettredaktør* or *vevredaktør* etc. In the discussion of *smoothies*, one participant suggested *fruktshake* using the principle of network to support the suggestion. We already have *milkshake*, and *fruktshake* would fit into the network of such drinks. When someone wanted another word for *proaktiv*, others pointed out that we should keep this word because it fits into the network of words like *inaktiv* and

reaktiv. *Babybølge* was thought of as a good word for *babyboom* because we already have the word *eldrebølge*. The discussion of *armchair athlete* is an example of a discussion where the principle of network was forgotten by many. Several wordsmiths translated the expression directly and suggested words beginning with *lenestol*. However, we already have constructions of this kind in Norwegian, but these begin with *sofa*, for instance *sofavelger*, *sofagris* and *sofasliter*.

The principle of network does not only have to do with the relationship to other words, but also with a word's network in terms of word classes. In the discussion of *scanner*, it was argued that *innlyser* was a good word because the word also makes a good verb, *innlyse*. This is one of the rarer examples of a suggestion where this was taken into consideration. That a word has different grammatical uses, for instance a noun, a verb, and an adjective form, is often forgotten. Suggesting that *direkteavspilling* could replace *streaming* is fine, but one must not forget that *streaming* also has a verb form, *streame*. *Direkteavspille* would perhaps not be the best alternative for the verb. The same problem was seen in the discussion of *advocacy*. If *talsmannsarbeid* should be used instead of *advocacy*, what should the verb *advocate* be? In the discussion of *spam*, an objection to *søppelpost* was that *søppelposte* would not be a good verb. An objection to using *å flikke* for *to patch* was that *en flikk* cannot replace the noun *a patch*.

When *e-mail* was taken up, it was pointed out that the advantage of *meil* over *e-post* is that it has a network: It has a noun, *en mail*, and a verb, *å maile*. *E-post* does not have a corresponding verb form. Others felt this argument unimportant and argued that we do not say *breve*, and they asked the rhetorical question: 'Is it more difficult to *sende e-post* than it is to *sende brev*?' This may be true, but if we look at *maile* in context, we will see that this verb is used in many ways and constructions. It is for instance much easier to say *maile meg* than it is to say *sende meg e-post*. Such aspects should also be taken into consideration. The issue of

how *maile* is used in different contexts brings us to the next and final principle, the principle of flexibility.

4.4 The principle of flexibility

The importance of the principle of flexibility should be stressed much more in Ordsmia than it has been so far. The test of usage is rather seldom performed. Performing the test of usage means that we find examples of how the loanword is used in Norwegian, and put the substitute word to the test by seeing if it can be used in the different contexts as easily as the loanword can. As seen above, *e-post* is not as flexible as *e-mail* and *maile* are. In the discussion of *spin-off*, the suggestion *kjølvann* seemed to be a good word, but, as one participant pointed out, the problem with this word is that it can only be used in compounds as for instance *kjølvannsbedrift* and *kjølvannsprodukt*. *Kjølvann* can therefore not replace *spin-off* where it occurs alone. One wordsmith suggested that *subliminal* could be replaced by *underbevisst*. In this case the problem was that the suggestion could not be used in all constructions where *subliminal* occurs. One cannot say *underbevisst reklame*.

It is a good idea to provide the participants in Ordsmia with examples of how the loanword one wants to discuss is used in Norwegian. In that way the wordsmiths can put their own suggestions to the test and see how they will work. Jon Grepstad found real-life examples which he sent to Ordsmia during the discussion of *spin-off*. One example of *spin off* used in Norwegian was the following:

Hvilket forhold er det mellom dynamiske småbedrifter og store bedrifter; i hvilken grad oppstår dynamiske småbedrifter som *spin off* fra store bedrifter, i hvilken grad representerer dynamiske småbedrifter en storforetakskomplettering gjennom utprøving av nye forretningsområder, dekking av underleveranser eller servicefunksjoner.

If one tried to replace *spin off* in this text with some of the suggested substitute words, one would quickly see that not all these would pass the test: *sidevirkning*, *avdrypp*, *biprodukt*, *kjølvann*, *avfresning*, *avsprett*, *avlegger*, *knoppskyting*, *knoppskudd*, *avspinn*. The same was done when *barista* was brought up. The wordsmith pointed out that we needed a word that could be used in the following contexts: *barista-ferdigheter*, *baristalandslaget*, *baristalærer*, *barista-NM*, *NM i baristakunst*. It is questionable whether all of the suggestions *kaffekokk*, *kaffekunstner*, *kaffekoker* and *kaffionom* would pass the test of usage.

Stig Johansson found examples of how *peptalk* was used in different contexts and demonstrated the importance of the test of usage further. A search in *Atekst* showed that *pep* is used in many connections: *Ta peppen fra*, *peppe opp*, and *miste peppen*. If we put the suggestion *kveikpreik* to the test, we would get the following results: *Ta kveiken fra*, *kveike opp*, *miste kveiken*. We quickly realise that *kveikpreik* is not a good substitute word for *peptalk*.

Often it can be very difficult to find only one word that can replace a loanword in all contexts. For this reason, some wordsmiths claim that it is not always necessary to find only one word because we already have many ways of expressing the English meaning in Norwegian which we can use depending on the context. Instead of attempting to solve the difficulty of finding one word for *online*, one can vary between for instance *tilkoblet*, *elektronisk*, *pålogget*, *direktekoblet*, *på nettet* etc. The same is true of *crossover* which is a word used in connection with for instance books, literature and food. Here we can vary between using *sjangerblanding*, *allgenerasjons-*, *båsfri* and other words depending on the context. The test of usage is thus also important to help us become aware of when it is better to use different Norwegian words in different contexts than it is to try to find ‘the one and only’ substitute word.

Chapter 5: More on substitute words and use

5.1 When do we need substitute words?

In Ordsmia, there is little disagreement that substitute words are important. The question of when we need substitute words, however, is a hotly debated topic. We usually need to find substitute words when loanwords deviate from Norwegian pronunciation and spelling rules, and when they do not fit into Norwegian grammatical patterns (Johansson and Graedler 2002: 220, Sandøy 2000b). However, it is not always obvious that all loanwords should be replaced (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 221, Johansson 2003: 131). Quite often even words that deviate from Norwegian language patterns have been used for so long and become so established that it is difficult, if not impossible, to replace these. *Design* is an example of a word that deviates from Norwegian spelling and pronunciation, but it is now so established that the substitute word *formgivning* could not compete.

The NLC and several other wordsmiths have stressed that when words are as established as for instance *design*, *sit-ups*, *lock-out*, *curling*, and *sexy*, there is no reason to try to replace these with new substitute words. As one wordsmith put it, there is a difference between suggesting substitute words for words which feel foreign and for words that do not feel foreign anymore. In such cases it is probably better to accept what we cannot change and regard the new words as enrichment rather than a threat to our language. For substitute words to have a chance to come into use, we must create them as soon as possible after we have seen the loanwords enter our language. The wordsmiths must forge while the iron is hot. On the one hand, it is not always easy to know when a loanword has come to stay and when it is just a passing trend. On the other hand, it is not always easy to determine when a word is too established to be replaced by a substitute word. This does not mean that these issues are

unimportant. Some wordsmiths believe that looking at use and examining how established words are is irrelevant. They claim that we should try to find substitute words for all foreign words no matter how old or new they are. The result of this way of thinking is that they will waste both time and energy because their suggestions are unlikely to ever win the competition against the established loanwords.

When loanwords do not deviate from Norwegian language patterns, it may be better to change these words through formal adaptation than it is to find new substitute words. *Surfe*, *sample*, and *hub* are all examples of loanwords which are difficult to replace because they have been used in Norwegian for quite some time. The suggested substitute words *sidespringe*, *punktprøving*, and *nettnav* have therefore not appealed to people. As mentioned in the discussion of the principle of form, these, and other words, can be easily integrated into Norwegian by changing the way they are spelled to *sørfe*, *sæmpel/sæmple*, and *høb*. Some wordsmiths claim that these are only foreign words in disguise and want to find new words which can replace them. Others claim that words formally integrated into Norwegian must be regarded as Norwegian words. It is extremely difficult to draw a line between originally foreign words and originally Norwegian words. Languages are dynamic and have constantly been influenced by each other. When all is said and done, what determines whether a word is Norwegian or not is how frequently it is used in Norwegian, whether we like their etymology or not.

Occasionally, English words enter our language even though the same meaning is expressed by already existing Norwegian words. This was the case with *downtown*. In the discussion of this word, the wordsmiths struggled to find out which semantic gap it was filling. Most wordsmiths believed that we already had Norwegian words for *downtown*, e.g. *sentrum*, *på byen* and *bykjernen*. Some thought that *downtown* is used especially in connection with skyscrapers or business, while *sentrum*, *på byen* and *bykjernen* are not, and

that this may be the reason why Aftenposten used *downtown*. Others thought it pointless to create a new word for *downtown* when we already have at least three Norwegian words which pass the test of usage.

As mentioned above, there may be instances where we will not manage to find only one Norwegian word that can replace a loanword in all contexts. It is important to be aware of the possibility of expressing the meaning of a word in different ways in different contexts with words we already have (Johansson 2003: 128ff). If we already have ways of expressing the meaning the English word has, there is no need to create a new Norwegian word. There are a few examples of discussions in Ordsamia where awareness of this has been demonstrated. When the word *spin-off* was discussed, some argued that we cannot find just one word that can replace *spin-off*. Depending on the context, we can sometimes use *sidevirkning*, sometimes *biprodukt*, sometimes *avspinn*. Other times we may need to rewrite and say for instance *resultatet av* or *effekten av*. They argued that we thus have ways of expressing the meaning of *spin-off* in Norwegian, and we do not need one word to replace *spin-off*. In the discussion of *dedicated*, members came up with the following suggestions of Norwegian ways of expressing this meaning: *engasjert*, *ta på alvor*, *dedikert*, *dedisert*, *målet vårt*, *ihuga*, *forpliktet*, *viet til*, *hengitt til*, *oppsatt på*, *opptatt av*, *gjøre vårt ytterste*, *satse på*, *å ha som særskild oppgave*, *gå (helhjertet) inn for*, *være tro mot*, and *tilordne*. Further, *blackout*, can be expressed in Norwegian through the following words and expressions: *jernteppe*, *få hetta*, *minnesvikt*, *minnetap*, *minneglepp*, *medvitstap*, *medvitsløyse*, *det svartner*, *det går i svart*, and *minnesvinn*. This proves that we do not always need to replace English words with new substitute words. Taking advantage of the words we already have is also a way of preserving our language.

5.2 Already existing substitute words

Before we try to create a new word, we should try to find out if other substitute words already exist (Johansson & Graedler 2002: 220). Many of Ordsmia's participants are good at looking for words already in use and at bringing these to Ordsmia's attention. When *wearable computer* was discussed, some suggested *kroppspc* as this word had been used in Aftenposten. At Norwegian message boards and similar websites, *off topic* has been called *avsporing* for quite some time. The only Norwegian book dealing with the subject of case studies uses the Norwegian word *tilfelle* for *case study*. When *vending machines* was discussed, it was pointed out that the common way of expressing this in Norwegian is to specify the type of vending machine, e.g. *kaffeautomat*, *sjokoladeautomat*, *brusautomat*. Therefore, we do not need a more general word for these in Norwegian. Microsoft and Mozilla use *veiviser* for *wizard*. *Airbrush* is called *luftpensel* in a textbook written for a course in drawing. These are just a few examples of how many wordsmiths bring already existing words to Ordsmia's attention. That we should look for already existing words does not mean that we automatically have to accept words we have seen in use as good substitute words. Not all words are. It is still important to look for these words because the fact that these have already been used could be an indication of the likelihood that they may become successful substitute words.

It is a problem that too many fail to look for already existing words when they take up a word for discussion in Ordsmia. However, it is a bigger problem when some wordsmiths claim that looking at words and language in use is unimportant. Too many participants in Ordsmia spend too much time creating substitute words when they know that other substitute words are already established, like *skråstrek* for *slash*, *skanner* for *scanner*, *lenke* for *link*, *idédugnad* or *idémyldring* for *brainstorming* and *krøllalfa* for *at*. The reason why some wordsmiths do not think that already existing and even established substitute words need to be

taken into consideration is that they believe a language is always in need of synonyms. Some have even wanted to create a new word for the established Norwegian word *fjernkontroll* [remote control] and suggested that *manøverstokken* would be a good, and even better, alternative. It is true that synonyms enrich the language, but as counsellors from the NLC and wordsmiths have pointed out again and again, the objective of Ordsamia is to find substitute forms, not synonyms. If Ordsamia were only a place for fun and imaginative word creation without consideration of words and language in use, it would have very little value for the Norwegian language.

The discussion of *krøllalfa* deserves extra mention. No other word has been discussed more. It has been taken up no less than seven times, most recently in 2006, even though *krøllalfa* was established in Norwegian when it was first discussed in Ordsamia in April 2000. Still, some keep arguing that *krøllalfa* is not creative or original enough and that for instance *gurre* and *snabel-a* are better names. Others claim the sign @ is not a curled alpha and refer to the principle of meaning to support their argument against *krøllalfa*. Some argue that *krøllalfa* is too long and claim that other languages have much better words for @. If we study the name @ has received in other languages, however, we will see that most names are about as long as *krøllalfa* is. Many participants still claim that, when reading e-mail addresses aloud is a part of your job, it would be much easier to say *ved*, *hos*, *på* or *ad* instead of *krøllalfa*. They may have a point, but as one wordsmith pointed out, we must distinguish between the name of the sign and the way we read e-mail addresses. *Krøllalfa* refers to the sign itself and is an established term. This does not prevent us from reading @ as *ved*, *på*, *hos*, or *ad* when reading e-mail addresses, and there is no point in trying to replace an established word like *krøllalfa* with another word no matter how good we believe a new word might be.

5.3 Selling the substitute words

When suggesting a substitute word, it is important to consider the chances the word has of being used by people outside Ordsmia. As Dag Finn Simonsen has pointed out, we cannot compose words freely without thinking about their sales potential. Wordsmiths should therefore always base their discussion of loanwords and substitute words on an investigation of language use (Johansson 2003: 124). How, and how often, is the loanword to be replaced used? Why can we not use the loanword? Does the suggested word pass the test of usage? Does the substitute word have a chance of coming into use? Do good alternatives already exist? Further, since research has shown that most of the substitute words are in agreement with more than one of the six principles, it would be a good idea for wordsmiths to familiarise themselves with these principles.

If those who frequently use the loanwords are not willing to use the suggested substitute words, these substitute words are not likely to succeed. It is therefore a good idea to contact the people who use the loanwords the most to get their reactions to suggested substitute words. They may also already know about other substitute words in use. When the word *recaller* was taken up, Jon Grepstad suggested that someone ask Norges idrettshøgskole if a Norwegian substitute word is already in use there. When *airbrush* was discussed, Grepstad contacted Kunsthøgskolen i Oslo and learned that *luftpensel* was the preferred substitute word. Questions about *terminal sedering* were sent to Legeforeningen. In the discussion of *dreadlocks* there was disagreement about whether *rastaletter* could replace the word or not. At a hair styling salon, Stig Johansson was told that *dreadlocks* and *rastaletter* are two very different hairstyles. The discussion would benefit from contacting people outside Ordsmia much more frequently than has been done so far.

Creativity and imaginative suggestions may be interesting and fun, but sometimes Ordsmia's members focus more on their own creative minds than on the chances the inventive

words have of being used outside Ordsmia. *Palmetass*, for instance, was suggested as a substitute word for *PDA*. The reasons were that *palm* has been used as a word for *hand* in Norwegian too, and it evokes connotations of lying under the palms with the PDA. It most certainly is a cute, fun and original suggestion, but it is unlikely to succeed as a substitute word for *PDA*. It is just as unlikely that *hundebæsj* (*krøllalfa*), *jallamat* (*junk food*), *troll-i-eske-vindu* (*pop-up window*) and *regnetøy* (*wearable computer*) will come into use as well, to take some other examples of suggestions that have come up.

There has been a notable decrease in activity in Ordsmia beginning in 2004 and continuing up to the present in 2007. What frustrates many members, and what is often stated as a reason why so many choose to leave Ordsmia, is the fact that most of the words discussed are never used by people outside Ordsmia. Many of the suggestions end up on the NLC's wordlist 'På godt norsk – avløysarord', but get no further. To continue to spend time creating words that never will be used feels pointless. One reason why many of the words have not succeeded may be that several of the words on the list 'På godt norsk' violate the principles for good substitute words (Mittet 2005). Another reason is that we have to work actively in order to spread new words. Possible ways of spreading substitute words suggested in Ordsmia have been discussed several times. Quite a few suggestions have been made. One is to continue to update the list 'På godt norsk' at the NLC's websites as this list makes the words available to an audience outside Ordsmia. The NLC also tries to spread substitute words through their own publications, *Språknytt* and *Statsspråk*. Frequent contact with various newspapers, magazines and the radio could also do a great deal for the spread of the words. Sending out e-mails and SMS messages is another way to make the words known to Norwegians. As for technical terms, one could contact people within the words' respective fields, as was mentioned above. It could also be useful to contact journalists and authors, and make an effort to have the new words entered in new dictionaries.

In Ordsmia's first years, the editorial staff used to send out messages where they summed up the discussion of a word. Sometimes they also suggested a 'conclusion' which often ended up on the list 'På godt norsk'. In 2003, the editorial staff decided against continuing this. Dag Finn Simonsen explains that the reason is that such messages can be interpreted as official decisions, which they are not, and possibly put a damper on the debate (2003: 145f). Although this argument is understandable, it seems as if Ordsmia would benefit from having the discussions summed up and from placing the words on a list at the NLC's website. This can give a feeling that the discussions have led somewhere. It would also, as mentioned, make the words more available to the general public.

Editorial reminders of, for instance, the importance of use were also sent out rather frequently in Ordsmia's early years. These might have put a damper on the debate. There are examples of discussions in Ordsmia where members protest against such reminders and claim that the NLC cannot decide when we do and do not need new substitute words. However, there is a chance that such reminders will help the wordsmiths take principles and use more into consideration and as a consequence suggest better words that are more likely to succeed. Reminders from professional linguists would all in all therefore be beneficial for the discussion in Ordsmia.

Chapter 6: Equipping the wordsmiths

A smithy should always be fully equipped. There are several tools and websites which can be helpful in the process of creating successful substitute words. The NLC has a list of suggested substitute words at their website called 'På godt norsk – avløysarord' where we can find out if substitute words already exist. Seeing how other languages have replaced English loanwords can trigger ideas for Norwegian substitute words. Dictionaries and various websites can be useful for this purpose. Stig Johansson looked to the French language when he tried to find a word for *seede*. The French *classifiser* gave the idea to the Norwegian *klassifisere*, which passed the test of usage. Jon Grepstad has suggested and demonstrated how one can use *DictSearch, the All-in-one dictionary Search Tool for hundreds of dictionaries at foreignword.com's* web pages. When *spin-off* was discussed, Grepstad checked for instance how the Czechs have solved the problem:

spin-off = pruvodni dusledek

pruvodni = accessory

pruvodni = collateral

dusledek = growth

dusledek = implication

dusledek = result

Exchanging ideas and discussing problems with other Nordic countries, Sweden and Denmark in particular, can be especially useful because of the similarities between our languages and because English is a strong influence on all three languages today. Both the Swedish and the Danish Language Councils have websites where the English influence on the languages has been given much attention. The Swedish Language Council also has a list of Swedish substitute words called 'Onödig engelska eller engelska i onödan?' which could give us ideas.

It was pointed out above that an investigation of language use is very important for the creation of good substitute words. There are several ways to investigate language use. Many of Ordsma's participants have used search engines like *Google* and *AltaVista* for instance to find out how frequently and in what connection various loanwords are used, and whether a substitute word has come into use or not. When using search engines, however, it is important to be aware that the results rarely give us an accurate picture of language use and they should not be treated as giving reliable statistical information. As some wordsmiths with expertise from the field of ICT have pointed out, many of the hits returned can be from the same websites, websites could be listed more than once, the results from the same search engine may vary from day to day etc.⁶ Search engines can, however, give us a good indication of how frequently and when loanwords and substitute words are used, and are very useful when we want to see the wider picture. The condition is of course that we remember to limit the search to Norwegian websites! In the discussion of *webmaster* one wordsmith posted the following results from the searches performed to find out which substitute word was used more frequently:

Alltheweb:

webansvarlig	1856 (1400 i .no)
vevadministrator	1096 (1095 i .no)
vevmester	953 (919 i .no)
webadministrator	5307 (14 i .no)

Kvasir (søk i Norge):

webansvarlig	1658
vevadministrator	1327
vevmester	769
webadministrator	22

He also reported that *webansvarlig* was the winner at *Google* as well. In this case it seems safe to say that *ansvarlig* seems to be the word which will replace *master*. In addition, one

⁶ For more on this topic, visit <http://www.cindoc.csic.es/cybermetrics/articles/v2i1p1.html> to read a paper called 'Search Engine Results over Time - A Case Study on Search Engine Stability' by Judit Bar-Ilan.

could search for *vevansvarlig*, *webadministrator*, *webmaster*, and *vevadministrator* to get an indication of how well *vev* is doing compared to *web*. A search at *Kvasir* in March 2007 returned 31,100 hits for *webansvarlig* and 1430 hits for *vevansvarlig*.

Some wordsmiths have used *Atekst* in their investigation of language use. *Atekst* is a database consisting of electronic editions of nearly 20 of the biggest and most important Norwegian newspapers, magazines and news agencies. It contains the full texts of more than 5 million articles from the middle of the 1980s until today, and it is updated daily. *Atekst* thus offers a chance to study the history of loanwords and substitute words, how and in which contexts they have been used, and also the competition between the two (Johansson 2003: 124). An archive of newspaper articles is highly valuable for language researchers. Norwegians are world champions in newspaper reading. According to a recent investigation from March 2005 carried out by NTS Gallup on behalf of Mediebedriftenes Landsforening, 85 % of all Norwegians read at least one newspaper every day. The newspapers' main function is to inform, but they also influence people's language. *Atekst* can show us which type of language people have been reading the past few years and what words they have been exposed to. Many of the English loanwords are introduced in newspapers. The same is true of many Norwegian substitute words. To be conscious of language while reading the newspaper can therefore be of valuable help in the creation of substitute words.

Anglisismeordboka by Stig Johansson and Anne-Line Graedler (1997) has sometimes been referred to in discussions where the wordsmiths need to know what an English word means and how it is used in Norwegian. This dictionary contains 4000 different direct loans, both words and expressions, which occur and are used in everyday language in modern Norwegian (Johansson & Graedler 1997: 10). The word entries include a pronunciation guide, grammatical information, etymological information, definitions, authentic examples of how the word is used in Norwegian, possible differences between Norwegian and English use, and

information on derivation and compounding (Johansson & Graedler 1997: 12). This is most valuable information for wordsmiths.

When it comes to words from the field of ICT, Microsoft has a website where one can download a list of ‘over 12,000 English terms plus the translation of the terms for up to 59 different languages’ (<http://www.microsoft.com/globaldev/tools/MILSGlossary.msp>). *Norsk datatermgruppe* is an example that a lot is being done to create substitute words in the field of ICT. Founded in April 2000, the purpose of the group’s work is to translate and adapt English and American computer terms into Norwegian (<http://www.dataterm.no>). A list of suggested Norwegian terms can be found at their website. *Norsk datatermgruppe* cooperates with other similar Nordic initiatives. *Svenska datatermgruppen* was founded in May 1996 and has come a long way in their work on finding Swedish terms for words from the field of ICT. Their website (<http://www.nada.kth.se/dataterm/>) contains a page with principles for the group’s work with terms, articles on linguistic and technical issues, and wordlists with suggestions for Swedish substitute terms. Finland has a similar group called *Tietotekniikan termitalkoot*, and Denmark created *It-Terminologi-Udvalget* in 2000. Wordlists of suggested substitute terms can be found at their websites. The NLC also has a list of Norwegian terms from the field of ICT called ‘Dataspråk’.

As shown in this chapter, there are many helpful tools, websites and books available to wordsmiths. Most of these have been mentioned or used in *Ordsmia* every now and then, but it seems clear that *Ordsmia*’s discussion of substitute words would benefit from more knowledge and constructive use of these sources.

Chapter 7: Concluding remarks

In this thesis, I have discussed some of the main tendencies I have observed in Ordsmia after having studied all the nearly 6100 messages sent to the forum. The principle of meaning is without doubt the principle discussed the most. Clarification of meaning is necessary when we create substitute words, and Ordsmia is an excellent place to visit for those who want to clarify and learn what a word actually means. However, the principle of meaning is given so much attention that other principles are often neglected and even violated. The exaggerated focus on transparency and the belief that Norwegian words must be as similar to the loanwords as possible also seem to put a damper on the wordsmiths' creativity. All substitute words cannot be imitations of the foreign words. It is not always possible to find or create just one Norwegian word that can replace the loanword in all contexts. There are also times when the loanword itself is not a good word. It is therefore important that we try to free ourselves from the loanwords and use our imagination. At times, Ordsmia seems to be a forum for discussion of denotative meaning rather than substitute words. This is especially true of the discussion of words from the field of ICT, and since more than a third of the words taken up in Ordsmia are from the field of ICT, this tendency has rubbed off on the discussion of words from other fields as well. The uneven coverage of words from different fields thus has consequences for the wordsmiths' arguments for and/or against substitute words.

Most wordsmiths usually suggest fairly neutral words as substitute words are more likely to come into use if they are neutral in style. The principle of connotation is still frequently commented on, although with varying relevance. Further, the discussion reflects that connotation is more important for some types of words than others. When it comes to the principle of form, awareness of the disadvantage of long words is shown, but due to the focus on transparency, many of the words suggested are rather long, especially if we compare them

to the loanwords they are intended to replace. Most of the suggested substitute words, however, are in accordance with Norwegian rules of pronunciation, spelling, inflection and compounding. They are also generally in agreement with the principle of identity, probably because of the focus on transparency. Ordsamia's wordsmiths do seem to be aware that words belong to networks, but they should be more conscious of the principle of network, especially when English loanwords exist for instance as both nouns and verbs.

The importance of the principle of flexibility should be stressed much more. The test of usage is performed too seldom and this decreases the chances the suggested words have of coming into use. As has been pointed out a few times in Ordsamia, members should investigate the word before they take it up in Ordsamia, and find out how the loanword is used, if substitute words already exist, if we already have ways in which we can express the meaning of the foreign word, and preferably how established the loanword is. There are times, however, when it is not easy to determine whether a word is established or not. It can be very useful to bring such issues up for discussion in Ordsamia, especially since members with different backgrounds can contribute with various types of knowledge and can see things from several points of view.

One of the main problems in Ordsamia is that its members do not agree on what the forum is about. This is mainly due to the disagreement on how important use is. Some claim that use is not important at all and keep bringing up already established words, or even Norwegian words, and want to find synonyms for these. Others claim that use is what is most important and argue that, since the purpose of Ordsamia is to find substitute words, it is irrelevant that synonyms enrich our language.

There are many good substitute words suggested in Ordsamia which would be worth spreading to the general public. It is interesting to see how involved many wordsmiths are in the sometimes heated discussions about our language. It is also interesting to observe that the

reason why many members choose to leave Ordsmia is the frustration with not seeing the discussion bearing fruit. Although there is much potential, and many good discussions and suggestions in Ordsmia, it seems clear that much more awareness of what makes a good substitute word is necessary if the work done in Ordsmia is to spread and have any relevance for Norwegian and Norwegians in general. The wordsmiths' suggestions and arguments for and/or against substitute words do not always agree with the principles researchers have found to be important for a substitute word's success. It is likely that this is a reason why many substitute words suggested in Ordsmia cannot compete with the loanwords. The challenge is to make members familiarise themselves with the principles without making the discussion seem too complicated and scaring them away. However, if Ordsmia is to influence our language, all wordsmiths need to familiarise themselves with the principles, perform the test of usage, check if substitute words already exist, talk to the people who use the words frequently, use all available tools, websites and books for all they are worth, and work actively to spread the words, for instance through the ways the NLC and the wordsmiths themselves have suggested.⁷

Ordsmia is a forum where we can discuss loanwords and substitute words from all domains. As mentioned in chapter 2, one wonders if the uneven coverage of words taken up in Ordsmia could be an indication that it may be more difficult to create successful substitute words in some fields than others. It would be interesting to carry out a research project with the aim of finding out if there are any differences between people's attitudes towards substitute words in different domains. More studies on the competition between loanwords and substitute words in other fields than ICT, technology and economics would be valuable as well.

⁷ See chapter 5.

People's attitudes to substitute words in general are also important and it would be interesting to have more detailed knowledge about these. In his article about Nordic language attitudes, Lars S. Vikør presents an opinion poll conducted in connection with the Nordic project 'Modern Loanwords'. This poll shows that 62 % of the Norwegian population believe that the number of English words used in Norwegian today is too high. 53 % think we should create new Norwegian words which can replace the English loanwords which continually enter our language (Vikør 2003: 46ff). It thus seems as if substitute words still have a fair chance of finding fertile soil in the Norwegian language. Such polls provide people interested in the influence English has on Norwegian with essential knowledge. It does not matter how good substitute words are if people are not interested in using them.

Appendix

Comments on the list of words brought up in Ordsmia

This list shows all the words taken up in Ordsmia from the beginning in March 2000 until April 2007. The words are listed in alphabetical order and have been sorted according to which language they come from, as this shows where most of the foreign influence on Norwegian comes from. The English words have then been grouped into six different categories: ICT; business and occupations; sports; food; clothes, fashion, and beauty; and finally, others. The ‘others’ category contains words which were more difficult to categorise as there were less than 10 words in each category. Grammatical issues brought up in Ordsmia and discussions about Norwegian synonyms have not been included in the list.

The words have been grouped according to relevant meaning. *Cookie*, for instance, has been listed as a word from the field of ICT because in this case there was talk about Internet cookies, not cakes. When a word has been listed more than once, it is because the word is used with different meanings in different contexts, as is the case with for instance *feature*, which means one thing in the field of ICT and another in the field of journalism.

The numbers in parenthesis specify how many times the particular word has been brought up in Ordsmia. The words in parenthesis indicate in what connection the word is used. Where abbreviations are common, these are also placed in parenthesis. Words linked by commas are from the same category or network. Words joined by slashes are two versions of the same word with exactly same meaning.

List of words brought up in Ordsma

ENGLISH WORDS

Words from the field of ICT

activate scrolling	content provider
adware (3)	cookie (3)
affiliate, affiliates, affiliate program	crawler
airbrush	cybernaut
animated graphic	cyberstalking
application	data mart
Application Service Provider	data mining
auto-negotiation	data warehouse
avatar	deface, defacing
back-office	denial of service (2)
backslash (2)	direct mail
backtracking	display
bar (as in 'toolbar')	dodge
barebone system	dongle
batch	dot (2)
big-endian (2)	dot-com, dot-com-selskap
blind	draft
blogg/weblog (3)	drawable
bluetooth	driver
bookmarklet	drop-down list
boolean operators	dualboot
boot manager	dual-cpu
bootbar	e-book
boote	e-business
bootprom (short for <i>boot promoter</i>)	e-cash
browse path	e-commerce
browser	editor
build	elaboration (project phase)
burn	e-mail (2)
button	embedded
cache (2)	e-medicine
cancel	emoticons
Caps Lock	endianness
chat	enforcement point
chat room	enter
check box	entertainment computing
click wrap	e-tailer
clickstream, clickstream data	exploit (3)
color depth	extensible markup language (XML)
combo box	faxmail
compile	feature
connector	file association
content management	firewire

flash mob	little-endian
floating-point	loadbalancing
floppyfirewall	locator
font	mail, maile
front-office	malware (3)
fuzzy logic	managed code
fuzzy match	mapping
gateway	mark up
goodbye-button	marr connector
graphic equalizer	masthead
graphic tablet	memory stick (2)
handle	message
handshaking	mouseover
home connectivity	Multi Protocol Label Switching (MPLS)
hoste, hosted	multitasking
hosting	net community
hostmaster	netizen
hotspot	news feed
hot-upgrade	news group
housing	online
hub	online communities
hyperthreading (2)	open link
image	open source
image pipes	orphan
imaging	out-of-line
imaging (digital)	palmtop (2)
implementation (project phase)	parse
implicit profiling	pastebin
in-application test	patch
inception (project phase)	pattern
inline (2)	PDA
instant message	pervasive computing
instant messaging (3)	phishing (2)
instant messenger	picture hose
interface	picture tubes
interlace	pitch
Intermediate Document Exchange (IDoc)	plug-in (2)
internaut	pocket computer
internetter	podcast (2)
ISP	populere
issue, issuer	pop-under
kjørecomputer (and other words ending with <i>computer</i>)	pop-up menu
konsoll (console)	pop-up window
krøllalfa (7)	provisioning
LCD	proxy server
leading zero	Public Switched Data Network (PSDN)
Least-Privileged User Account (LUA)	push(-teknologi)
link (2)	radio button
list box	random (access)
	redundancy

redundancy and failover
referral log
relationship management
release notes
remote printer
retail version
reverse engineering
roaming
root kits
rounder
router
RSS-feed
ruby text
scam
scan engine
scanner
screenshot
scroll
SCSI-interface
search term
seed pages
selection
send secured
server
server appliances
shareware
sidebar
skimmer
skin (2)
slash
spam (2)
spammer
spin button
spline
spyware
squid(en)
squidguard
stock appreciation rights
streaming (3)
subject
supply chain management (SCM)
surfing
switch
switching fields
tab folder
tablet-PC
tag board
tags
tap
terminalserver

text editor
text mining
theme
throbber
thumbnails
tiling
toggle button
token
tooltip
touchpad
trackback (2)
transition (project phase)
transparency adapter
trickle cast
triple play
trusted certificates
unblind
underscore
use case
viewing angle
viral
virtual reality
virus definition
virus strains
visual display unit
WAP
wearable computer
web (2)
web bug (2)
web designer
webcast (2)
web-design
webmaster
webmin
website
wizard
wlan
word processor
World Wide Web

IRC words

channel
operator
to ban
to ignore
to join (a channel)
to kick
to leave (a channel)
to op
to quit

Words from the field of business and occupations

account manager (2)	hedge fund
administration & human resources	hospitality
coordinator	housekeeper
bartender	insourcing
business continuity planning	key account manager (2)
business intelligence	management consultant
business risk management	outsourcing (2)
business-to-business (B2B) (2)	out-tasking
cause related marketing	presales consultant
clinical development manager	project managers
conference & banqueting coordinator	purchase triggered donations
controller (2)	score
director - advisory services	service managers
enterprise content management	space management
food & beverage manager	supervisor, housekeeping
front office manager	trainee (3)
head of strategy processes	underwriter

Words from the field of sports

alley-oop	offroadsykkel
assist	offshore
carving	paddock
curling, curle	pit-stop
driving range	quartpipe
fairway	recaller
freerunning	seeding
green	skeleton
greenkeeper	snowblades
halfpipe	steal
hardt看	tee
mountain bike	turnover
Nordic walking	wakeboarding
off-piste/piste off	

Words from the field of food

bagels	functional food
catering	junk food
cereal	nuggets
cheeseburger	slow food
crabsticks	smoothie
doughnut	take-away-food
extra virgin olive oil	wraps
fast food	

Words from the field of clothes, fashion, and beauty

body	push-up bh
catwalk	stay-ups
dreadlocks	steps
eyeliner	tights
lipgloss	zipoff-bukse
lipliner	

Other words

adapter	case study
advergaming	cash pooling
advertainment	castingbyrå
advocacy	catch 22
agents (in connection with 'call center')	charter
airball	chill out
arkus tangens and invers tangens	churn
armchair athlete	citizenship
arts	city manager
assessment center	clustering
audiolink	co-branding
babyboom	cockpit
babyboomer	community-ansvarlig
bachelor (2)	compliance
backbencher	consumer citizenship
backlist	container
bag	coopetition
benchmarking (2)	co-optation
best practice (2)	copy protection
blackout	credit card phone
blooming	crew
bluejacket	cross media publishing
body packer	crossover (2)
body stuffer	culture jamming (2)
booke/boke	date (2)
boom	deal
booster	dedicated
brainstorming	default (2)
bridge	design
bumper stickers	disclaimer
bundling	downsizing
business case	downtown
buzzword	dual screen
call center (2)	due diligence
call for papers	ear piece
camelcaps	earcon
campus	economies of scope
carport	editor
case	edutainment
case sensitive	efficiency

employability
empower, empowerment
event
exitpoll
expat
explosive remnants of war
faction
fade-in
fade-out
fanzine
fasilitator
feature
feedback
fellow citizen
flash-ball
flatmate
flatshare
Flexi-fuel (vehicles) (FFV)
frequently asked questions (FAQ)
fundraising
game console
game control
gender (2)
ghostwriter
gonzo-journalistikk
global positioning system (GPS)
graphic novel
greenfield
groovy
groupie
gutter
hard discount-kjede
hardliner
hasbian
hatecrime
hat-trick
help-desk (2)
high-end (in connection with work stations)
hit-and-run
hospice
hot spot
hot-desk, hot-desking
hotlist
how-to
hype
håndscanner
infomercials
infotainment
intangible technologies

internship
jetlag
job shadowing
just in time (2)
kalibrere/calibrate
keynote speaker
kick
kidult
killer application (3)
kiss and ride
kite
kite boarding
knockout mouse
layout
legacy system
legalese
life science
live
locale
lounge
mainstream
master (3)
mid-term review
mission statement
must
namedropping
narrative science
newsfeed
news-on-demand
no-ageing
no-fault divorce
noise words
non-books
non-food
non-governmental organization
off topic
off-label
one-liner
on-hook dialling
on-shore
orphan drugs
oute
outplacement
overhead
overseas branches
pageturner (2)
paintball
paramedic
park and ride
passphrase (2)

payoff	service mark
peer review (2)	service minded
peer-to-peer	session-at-once
peptalk	set-top box (2)
performance provider	sexy
performance-kunst	shakedown
playback	shelter
playboy	shoppe
plot	show room
polyphonic/polyfonisk	sightseeing
pool (group)	sign-on-fee
pool	sit-ups
potluck	skyline
predictive text	small world networks
pre-emptive war	soft gun
print on demand	soft phone
private government	source training
proaktiv (2)	spacemaking
procrastinate	speaking notes
promobabe	speech synthesizer
pub	spin doctor
public key infrastructure (PKI)	spin-off
publishing on demand	spin-off selskap
punchline	split level apartment
purchase order	split-screen
purpose value	stalker
rail	standby
reality-TV	start-up
rebranding	stash up
receiver	stayer, stayerevne
referee	stepdown
remittance	strike
Remote Operated Vehicles (ROV)	style
research	style guide
response management	subliminal
retromania	subwoofer
road kill	supersize
road map	support
road-movie	surround sound (2)
rogue state	survivor
rouge	switch mode
safety vs. security	syndication
salary survey provider	system engineering
sample, sampling	talking kiosk
scan	tamper evidence
scoop	terminal sedering
score	the digital divide
seater	think-tank (2)
serendipity	third party
service for supplies	tick

ticker
timeout
timer
timing, time
toastmaster
token
tool-box talk
touch down
touch your inner healing
township
toyboy
track list
trafficking (2)
trick-or-treat
trimnasium
try and hire
tuner
turnaround
turnspeak
vending
vertical

FRENCH WORDS

accessoirer
boules
politiques éducatives
politiques linguistiques
pommes frites
réunionniste
sorbet

DANISH WORDS

kursist

GERMAN WORDS

Zerlegung

video on demand
videolink
voice mail
voice response
voucher
walk-in booking
walkover
wannabe
waypoint
whistle-blower
white-out
wildcard
woofers
workaround
workflow
workshop
workspace
wow
wrecking ball mailer
zipping
zoom, zoomer

LATIN WORDS

altocumulus castellanus
cumulonimbus calvus
cumulonimbus incus

ARABIC WORDS

intifada

ITALIAN WORDS

barista
boccia
latte

GREEK WORDS

glykemisk indeks

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